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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to clarify and empirically examine the role played by a toddler's self comforting skill in facilitating the separation-individuation process. On the basis of psychoanalytic ideas and empirical findings it was predicted that self comforting would be positively related to both secure attachment and self awareness. It was also predicted that the mother's fostering of independence would predict secure attachment. A total of 19 toddlers and their mothers participated in the study. Children ranged in age from 64 to 95 weeks. Data were collected in interviews, a structured play session, a stress diary, and in a 5-minute session modeled on the Ainsworth procedure, but abbreviated to minimize stress and concentrate on relevant ratings. Correlational findings did not support the former predictions, but did confirm the latter. Discussion explores the possibility that the mother's style of comforting her fearful toddler may determine the way in which self comforting and self awareness connect for the toddler. (Author/RH)

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The Toddler's Transition From Attachment to Self: The Role of Self Comforting

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Running Head: TODDLER'S TRANSISTION FROM ATTACHMENT

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to clarify and empirically examine the role played by a toddler's self comforting skill in facilitating the separation-individuation process. On the basis of psychoanalytic ideas and empirical findings it was predicted that self comforting would be positively related to both secure attachment and self awareness. It was also predicted that the mother's fostering of independence would predict secure attachment. Correlational findings did not support the former predictions, but did confirm the latter. Discussion explores the possibility that the mother's style of comforting her fearful toddler may determine the way in which self comforting and self awareness connect for the toddler.

The Toddler's Transition From Attachment to Self: The Role of Self Comforting

Most of us are familiar with the image a typical two-year-old has in the mind of an average adult. "Terrible twos!" "Stubborn child!" "Gets into everything!" "Sure(ly) has a mind of her own!" These are some of the descriptions we often encounter when we discuss any toddler with whom we have some connection. How does the very human, autonomous little bundle-of-energy being described emerge from the close and mutually dependent bond between mother and infant that typically develops in the first year?

This question can be addressed on the basis of recent empirical work in three areas: (1) mother-infant interaction in the first year, (2) attachment at the start of the second year, and (3) the development of self awareness later in the second year. It has been addressed also by psychoanalytic writers whose main interest is in the development of childhood psychosis and efforts to prevent its development. The present paper has two purposes: (1) to make explicit existing hypotheses about the connections among these three areas of development and (2) to report a study which explores several of these connections involving mothering attitudes, attachment, self awareness and self comforting.

Academic researchers studying the mother-infant relationship have identified responsiveness as a characteristic of a mother's style of interacting with her infant that is of seminal importance (see e.g., Kaye, 1982). Maternal responsiveness is operationally defined in various ways in these studies. The common and central idea is that reponsiveness is the degree of contingency on the baby's signals apparent in the mother's ministrations to the baby. A highly responsive mother in this sense would be one who picks up, laughs with, or offers a toy to her child in accordance with the child's communication that she would like these ministrations to occur.

Maternal responsiveness in this sense is associated with cognitive development and with activities which, in the young child, may be viewed as cognitive, such as exploration and reduction in distress (Willemsen, 1979).

Another area which has been the focus of much research is mother-infant attachment. The Ainsworth (Ainsworth & Wittig, 1969) paradigm of eight structured episodes is used to provide data for use in sorting the group into one of three summary categories: anxious-avoidant, anxious-amibivalent, or securely attached. Assessments made with the Ainsworth paradigm can also be thought of as an indication of the child's capacity to

occupy himself/herself alone in the presence of an attachment figure who serves as a "base-of-operations." Thus, the attachment paradigm--when properly used--replicates a naturally occurring state of affairs wherein the child is in one sense independent, but in another (the need for a proximate secure base) still very involved with the mother.

The point at which, the child has become fully autonomous and self aware has been the subject of several recent research efforts. Kagan has studied the parallels between the development of the cognitive capacity for symbolic thought and the more personal awareness of the self (Kagan, 1982). The first beginning of self awareness--recognition of the self's mirror image--has been studied by Lewis (1979). The major idea underlying these empirical studies can be summarized like this: moving past attachment with its attendant need for a visible and proximal attachment figure as a secure base--requires the ability to represent the secure base in an image. Simultaneously with the development of an image of the secure base (mother) an image of the self emerges. This we term <u>self awareness</u>. Self and other awareness, in turn, make it possible for the child to function autonomously.

Taken together, the ideas behind the academic studies cited suggest that the following sequence occurs in optimal development: Responsiveness during year one on the mother's part leads to secure attachment by the start of the second year. That attachment, in turn, facilitates the development of self awareness during the last half of the second year, a processs greatly aided by the development of the symbolic function.

Psychoanalytic writers whose primary interest is in serious psychopathology arising out of unfortunate events in the first two years have also written a great deal about the process of developing an awareness of the self separate from the mother and the close mother-infant relationship. For them, the process is called individuation since it describes the emergence of the individual from a mother-infant symbiotic system. Mahler has described the individuation process in excellent detail in a book reporting an observational study of several dozen toddlers (Mahler, 1975). According to Mahler's scheme there is an initial period in development when babies are not aware of themselves as separate agents and during which they experience confusion between their own experiences and those of their symbiotic partners, the primary caregivers.

Starting at about seven or eight months, the infant

begins to "pull back" from the mother and explore things on her own. If this self directed exploration is encouraged, the baby-turned-toddler becomes--in sequence--aware of her separateness, enthralled by it, frightened by it and in search of re-connection with her mother. When the process is nearing its final stage, if the caregiver has allowed it to happen, the toddler is self aware and aware that connectedness with the caregiver has to be negotiated. The toddler who does this negotiating is the autonomous toddler written about by Erik Erikson (1950).

Psychoanalytic writers such as Mahler (1975) and Erikson (1950) focus on struggles within the personality between impulse and its control. In contrast, a group of theorists known as the object relations school have written about the importance of inter-connectedness between infant and caregivers from the beginning of development. A number of ideas have emerged from this object relations viewpoint which are important for understanding early development and which are parallel with many ideas behind the academic research on attachment and self awareness.

The first pair of related ideas is Winnicott's (Davis and Wallbridge, 1981) who has, in turn, been influenced by his mentor Melanie Klein (Segal, 1979).

Winnicott's version of the responsive mothering idea focuses on the child's subjective experience of being mothered. His term "holding environment" conveys the sense of safety--of being "held" metaphorically--that the well mothered toddler feels as she ventures forth to try her skills in the world of independence. If the holding environment is reliable enough, the toddler will be able simultaneously to experience her own separateness from her mother and the mother's ready availability. When this experience of self-as-separate continues over time the toddler is able to construct images of self and mother as separate persons who nevertheless have a connection to each other.

The developmental process that goes on between the infant's experience of her mother as part of herself and the toddler's mature sense of self and mother as separate persons is an important transition. During the transition, the toddler needs some way of retaining the comfort provided by the mother while increasing her own separateness and the attendant control over herself. The transitional object is Winnicott's term for a toy, clothing article or blanket used by a child to comfort herself. Winnicott presumes that the object has comforting properties because it represents mother but is under the child's control. Other writers (Horton,

1982) have pointed out that repetitive behaviors, repetitive stimulation, or handling one's own body (hair, clothing, etc.) may have "transitional" power as well.

Psychoanalytic writers from both the ego psychology view (Mahler, Erikson) and the object relations school believe that mature self awareness and awareness of the mother as a separate person are the end result of the transitional process and that they imply the formation of an internal mental representation of the mother as a single person who is both gratifying and frustrating.

Academic researchers and psychoanalytic theorists use very different language to discuss the mother-infant relationaship and the development of the toddler's awareness of self separate from that relationship. Nevertheless, there seems to be strong agreement between these theorists about certain key ideas. These key ideas concern the relationships hypothesized to exist among important variables in the mother-infant relationship and the emergence of self awareness. These relationships are illustrated in Figure 1. In the present study, measures of each variable were obtained and the predicted relationships examined.

Figure 1 About Here

The first connection that writers in both traditions identify is the one between the mother's approach to the child's developing independence and the child's ability to use the mother as a secure base of operations. The latter capacity is known as "attachment" to child development researchers and it describes the move from a symbiotic relationship to beginning individuation in psychoanalytic theory as exemplified by Mahler (1975). The child whose mother can support her as she becomes independent should find it natural to explore the world on her own with mom as a base. Thus, a positive relationship between independence fostering by the mother and the quality of the attachment was predicted.

The second connection referred to in both psychoanalytic writings and research on the development of self awareness is that between attachment and self awareness. From the secure base of an established attachment the baby ventures forth to explore the world. This exploration leads to increased independent action in the world which results eventually in the awareness of one's own agency--i.e., self awareness. Thus a positive relationship between attachment and self awareness was predicted.

Independence fostering is connected to self

awareness both directly--since independence leads to increased agency and then awareness of it--and indirectly via attachment. Thus, the relationship between independence fostering and self awareness is predicted to be positive.

Self comforting, the variable in the middle, is not discussed at length in the developmental literature. In psychoanalytic work, the child's ability to comfort herself is cited as evidence that she has internalized the experience of being mothered (see, e.g., Horton, 1982). Thus, self comforting serves as a signal that the cognitive step necessary for completion of the individuation process, internal representation of the mother-child relationship, has occurred. We therefore expect to find a positive relationship between self comforting and self awareness. Since the process of individuation is supported by the secure attachment (see above) a positive relationship between secure attachment and self comforting was predicted.

In sum, we sought to observe and assess our toddler's capacity for self comforting and to determine its relationship to the other key variables in the transistion from attachment to self. To the extent that these relationships are those predicted, construct validation for self comforting can be established.

Method

Participants.

Nineteen toddlers and their mothers participated in the study. There were 11 boys and 8 girls. At the time of the first appointment the toddlers ranged in age from 64 weeks to 95 weeks. The mean age was 79.21 weeks with a standard deviation of 8.61. Participants were solicited through a mothers' group in the South Bay area of California. The senior author spoke about the research plans at a meeting of mothers whose babies had been born in 1982. Names and phones of those who might be interested were taken and they were provided with additional material describing the procedures and time committment. Follow-up phone calls were made by project co-ordinator (K.S.) who answered any questions and then scheduled the home visit for those who confirmed their willingness to participate.

Data Collection Procedures

Overview of Sequence. Each mother-toddler pair was seen twice, first for a one-hour home visit and then at the University laboratory for 10 minutes. These two visits were separated by a median of 12 days. During the home visit the mother was interviewed for 20 to 30 minutes by K.S. while L.A. and another female undergraduate student occupied the toddler. After the

mother interview was completed the interviewers became the child's playmate and the other two students became the observers. After the structured play session, the three students made an appointment for the family to visit the laboratory and explained how the stress diary was to be kept over the next three weeks. This ended session one.

When the mother and toddler arrived at the laboratory for their second visit, they were greeted by another student (K.G.) who greeted the family and reviewed the instructions with the mother. When the mother was ready, the modified Ainsworth strange situation began. The mother was then given a chance to ask questions and thanked, and the session ended.

In the summer of 1984 a meeting was held for interested parents in order to provide them with a chance to discuss the results of the study. All parents were sent a letter giving a brief summary of the study results and a description of their child's states on each of the key variables. The letter invited them to telephone the senior author with any questions or concerns.

Procedures

Interview.

The interview was semi-structured. Each mother was

asked the same 35 questions dealing with daily routines for mealtime, bedtime, bath, play and activities and inquiries into how the child responds to any limit setting and/or other stressful aspects inherent in these activities. Often, mothers spoke readily and at length about the family's day, thus the planned questions were not needed.

The interviews were taped, transcribed, and coded for seven variables by the interviewer and the first author. Three variables are used in the analyses reported here: (1) Mother's facilitation of toddler's independence. This was rated on a 4 point scale with the two codes agreeing in 74% of the cases on the exact rating and 100% of the cases within one point. (2) Toddler's use of self comforting. This was coded into one of three categories: "self comforting with use of object," "self comforting in another way," and "no self comforting." The two coders agreed on 95% of the cases for this code. (3)Mother's response to toddler's communication of stress. This code included three categories: "physical comforting," "cognitive structuring (e.g., 'the dog won't hurt you')", and "other." The coders agreed 100% of the time for this code. All discrepencies were resolved by discussion and these consensus scores or categories were used for analyses.

Structured Play Session.

This segment of the home visit began when the intertviewer-playmate turned off the recorder, turned to the toddler and suggested that the two of them play with some of the toys she had in her duffle bag. The arena of play was set up by the playmate to be a convenient floor area in the living or family room. The two observers retreated to chairs or couches a couple of feet away from the playmate and toddler. The playmate took out toys one by one in a sequence prearranged by the difficulty toddlers usually have in using the toys correctly.

The toys and their sequence were as follows: (1) a plastic turtle with holes in its shell into which small plastic blocks of corresponding shapes could be fitted, (2) a simplex puzzle which had cutouts of 4 animals to be replaced in corresponding recesses, (3) a simple puppy puzzle consisting of 5 large pieces, (4) a "dressy Betsy" doll which had buttons, zipper and laces to fasten, and (5) a spinning top which could be set in action by a pumping motion with a handle. Each task was performed by the playmate after the child's attention had been focused on her. Then the playmate said to the child, "Now it's your turn" and proferred the toy.

One observer of the play session kept a written running narrative record of all of the toddler's behaviors and reactions to the toys. The second observer used record sheets on which successive lines represented successive behaviors. Twelve codes were listed horizontally on each line and this observer circled one of them for each discrete behavior. Thus, by examining the second observer's record a sequence of all the child's behaviors from the beginning to the end of the session could be derived.

Three of the twelve codes are used in the analysis reported here. They are three of the five behaviors proposed by Kagan (1981) to operationalize self-awareness: (1) mastery behavior--the child's smile, self praise utterance or obvious pleasure exhibited immediately upon completing one of the tasks successfully, (2) distress-to-modeling--an expression of frustration or distress given immediately after the playmate did a task and invited the toddler to duplicate it, and (3) directives to adults--a toddler's request, verbal or nonverbal, that an adult do a particular act. In our situation, this request was often that the playmate perform her modeled act for the child.

The reliability of the three coded behaviors was determined as follows. The narrative record was

segmented by its maker (L.A.) into behavior units defined as actions which had a clear beginning (after a momentary pause following the end of the last unit) and completion. These units were then coded separately by the maker and the first author into the same codes as those pre-printed on the record sheet used by the second observer. Agreement was 100%.

The score for each behavior category was determined as the percentage of units coded that fell into that category. Similar percentages were derived directly from the second observer's codings. Spearman rank order correlation coefficients were determined between the narrative record observer's scores and the precoded-category observer's scores. These coefficients were: mastery behavior, .56, $p < .01$, distress-to-modeling, .49, $p < .025$, and directives to adults, .70, $p < .01$. Percentage scores from the precoded-sheet of the second observer were used in our analyses.

Laboratory Attachment Session.

The assessment of the toddler's attachment to his or her mother was made in a 5-minute session modeled after the Ainsworth procedure (Ainsworth and Wittig, 1969), but abbreviated to minimize stress and because certain ratings commonly made are thought not to be necessary for reliable classification of mother-toddler

dyads. The sessions were held in a 10 by 12 foot laboratory playroom with a one-way-mirror along one end. Video-taped records were made of each session.

During the home visit the mother had been briefed about what to expect at the laboratory. Each family was asked to supply a familiar object from home for the session. If the toddler had a special object to which he or she was attached, this was to be brought. Otherwise, a familiar toy from home was used. When the mother arrived with her toddler she was instructed about how to carry out her role in the session. When the mother and toddler entered the playroom from a door on one side, there were two straight chairs to their right against the end wall and three toys spaced about the carpeted floor. The toys were a plastic toy telehone, a colorful plastic dump truck, and a rather ordinary tan teddy bear.

The first segment of the session lasted one minute during which time the mother sat on a chair and the toddler played. On a signal knock, the mother got up and departed being careful to say, "good-bye" to the toddler and give assurance about being back. The second segment was the two minutes while the toddler was alone. The third segment began when a stranger (P.B.) entered, sat down, and attempted to engage the toddler in

communication. After the stranger's segment had lasted one minute, the mother re-entered and one-minute of reunion was taped.

Each mother-toddler pair was classified into one of the three major attachment style categories: (A) anxious-avoidant in attachment, (B) securely attached or (C) anxious ambivalent in attachment. As a first step in making the classification each toddler was rated from the videotape on eight 5-point scales: self comforting, exploration of objects, eye contact with adult, touching adult, response to adult's touch (positive-negative), affect (positive-negative), proximity seeking, and mother's attentiveness to child. These ratings were made (when appropriate) separately for each segment of the session. Classification into the A,B,C categories was then made by Ainsworth's guidelines (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, and Will, 1978). The two coders agreed on their ratings more than 80% of the time and remaining disagreements were resolved by discussion. Once ratings were in place, there was no disagreement about the attachment categories.

Stress Diary.

The home visit team left 42 structured "stress cards" with each family with instructions to use them for five minutes a day for 3 weeks to record 2 incidents

of moderate stress for the toddler per day (42 is 7 days x 2 incidents x 3 weeks). Each printed card carried a simple definition of distress (as a situation in which the toddler seems to be upset, frustrated, or disappointed). Parents were asked to briefly describe the incident (one or two lines), what started it, and how it was resolved. They were also asked to indicate the time of day and the situation going on at the time of the incident.

Eleven families completed this assignment. Each incident card for these families was coded for these aspects: (1) the reported source of the toddler's stress, (2) the way stress was expressed by the toddler, (3) situational context, and (4) how the stress was resolved. Only the latter aspect is reported here. Agreement between the first and fourth authors for these codings was 100%. The incidents that were resolved by some effort on the toddler's part were labeled self comforting incidents and their number was tabulated for each toddler. This number varied from 0 to 11 with a median of 5. The six toddlers with scores at or above this median were considered to be "self-comforters" for purposes of analysis whereas the other 5 were non-self-comforters.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Summary descriptive statistics for each of the variables studied are presented in Table 1.

Table 1 About Here

Sex differences were examined for the frequency-count variables by means of the Fisher exact probability test. For the quantitative variables (indicated by the listings of means and standard deviations), the Mann-Whitney test was used. There was no variable for which the sex difference was significant. Therefore, data from the two sexes were combined for subsequent analyses.

Relationships Among Measures of the Same Construct

The relationships between the two measures of self comforting was assessed with a Spearman rank order correlation coefficient. The resulting rho was +.55, $p < .05$, indicating the two measures have a significant amount of common variance. The relationship among three indicators of self awareness were assessed with Pearson correlation coefficients. The relationships between distress-to-modeling and directives-to-adults were significant but negative, $r = -.50$, $p < .05$, and $r = -.64$, $p < .05$, respectively. The relationship between

mastery behavior and directives to adults was not significant. The negative correlations of distress-to-modeling and directives to adults reflects the fact that our structured play procedure made the occurrence of one of these two incompatible with the other.

Relationships Among Variables

The relationships among the variables will be presented in the order of their role in the development of self as hypothesized in the introduction.

The relationship between the mother's facilitation of independence (interview measure) and attachment was assessed with a point-biserial correlation coefficient and was significant, $r = .55$, $p < .05$. The relationship between Independence facilitation and each of the two self comforting measures was assessed with Fisher Exact Probability Tests using high (4.5) and low (1,2,3) categories for independence facilitation and present-absent or high (above the median) and low (below the median) categories for the interview and diary measures of self comforting respectively. Pearson correlation coefficients were used to measure the relationships between independence facilitation and each of the self awareness measures. Only the relationship with directives-to-adults approached signficance, $r = .35$, $.05 < p < .10$.

The relationships between attachment and the self comforting measures was assessed with Fisher exact probability tests using "secure(B)" vs. "insecure(A,C)" categories on attachment, present vs. absent categories for the interview measure of self comforting and above and below the median for the diary measure of self comforting. The point biserial correlation coefficient was used to assess the relationships between attachment and each of the self awareness measures. These correlations were not significant.

The relationship between each self comforting measure and each self awareness variable (six relationships; see Table 1) was assessed with a point biserial correlation. The same categories were used for self comforting as were previously described. None of these relationships was significant.

In summary, the results show that the mother's strong facilitation of independence does predict secure attachment and one measure of self awareness (directives to adults). However, attachment, self comforting, and self awareness are not here shown to be interrelated in the manner predicted.

Discussion

The results have demonstrated that self comforting--at least as measured here--does not relate

either to attachment, a presumed antecedant, or to self awareness, a presumed consequent, in the straightforward manner illustrated in Figure 1.

Independence fostering on the part of the mothers in our sample was associated with their babies being securely attached, meaning that the babies could successfully use the mother as a base of operations. High scores on our interview measure of independence-fostering came from mothers who took care to organize household tasks and daily activities in such a way that their toddlers could participate. So these toddlers are learning how if feels to be an independent agent but they are doing so in a context that is structured for them cognitively by the mother. Apparently this freedom-within-structure policy of the mother leads the child to explore independently but it also leads the child to become more aware of his or her separateness. What follows is the pattern of back-and-forth play and "checking in with mom" characteristics of secure attachment.

The fact that independence fostering on the mother's part also predicts the self awareness measure directives-to-adults can be understood in a similar way. Both the use of an adult as a secure base and directives given to adults are ways that the toddler with

developing independence has to integrate that independence with his pre-existing relationship of dependency with the nurturing mother.

The failure of self comforting to be related either to attachment or self awareness has several possible interpretations. First, self comforting may be a temporary developmental way station between secure attachment and autonomous self awareness. If this is true, then some securely attached toddlers may have moved on to individuate and comfort themselves at a particular point in development whereas other securely attached toddlers will not yet have made this move by that time. At any given age, then, there may be no relationship between quality of attachment and self comforting. If this is a correct analysis, only a longitudinal following of a group of children over the period between the establishment of attachment and the emergence of self awareness can reveal any relationship between earlier attachment and later self comforting that may exist.

Our observation-based measures of self awareness (directives to adults, mastery behavior and distress-to-modeling) may have created another phenomenon worth noting: Each of these variables was scored from a checklist used to record the toddler's response to a set

of modeled tasks performed in a sequence of increasing difficulty. This procedure did elicit instances of the self awareness behaviors but they tended to be mutually exclusive. That is, if the model put a triangular piece through the triangular opening, the child would then either (a) successfully imitate this and exhibit mastery behavior (such as smiling gleefully) or (b) react to her inability to replicate the behavior by either showing distress or directing an adult (the model) to do it for her.

The pattern of intercorrelations among the three self awareness measures and an examination of individual scores shows that the scores on mastery behavior are inversely correlated with the other two self awareness measures while the latter two measures are not related. This indicates that whether or not a given toddler was able to perform a particular modeled action influenced his scores on these variables to a greater extent (relative to her dispositional characterisitics) than might be desirable. If our self comforting measures are presumed to measure developmental-dispositional characterisitics, a low correlation between self comforting and self awareness could occur.

A third complexity for relating self comforting to other variables relates to an interplay between the

child's self comforting and the parent's managing of the child's distress. We did not initially plan to study parental management of toddlers's fears, but as we reviewed our mother interview and diary material, we noted that there were distinct styles used by mothers in response to their children's distress. Some mothers simply offered immediate physical reassurance by picking the child up, hugging or cuddling her. Other mothers would say things to the child to help the child reassess the situation as not so stressful. For example, the mother of a child frightened by a cat's meow might say, "Oh, the nice kitty is happy to see us."

We called these two styles of parental response to child's stress "physical comforting" and "cognitive structuring" respectively. A post-hoc informal analysis of only the interview material showed that 9 of our mothers primarily used cognitive structuring to help their distressed toddlers while 7 primarily used physical comforting. A biserial correlation between this parenting style variable and attitude towards independence was significant, $r = .46$, $p < .05$. This shows that those mothers who generally provide opportunities for their children to be independent do so also in relation to the child managing her own fear. This style variable did not, however, relate to

attachment or self awareness.

The pattern of relationships among the parents' style of managing child's distress and other variables implies that for only some children is there a straightforward path leading from attachment to self comforting to self awareness. For others--namely, those whose mothers comfort them physically--self comforting may not follow directly from experiencing secure attachment. Self comforting when it eventually does develop for these children will not necessarily indicate that self awareness is soon to dawn. It may, rather, indicate that the mother's physical comfort has been imitated well.

This study was done as an attempt to measure self comforting and demonstrate its role in linking mother-infant attachment and the independence fostering by mothers and the development of self awareness. While the quality of attachment did relate positively to independence fostering, self comforting did not seem to be a straightforward conduit linking attachment to self awareness. Further research should be directed both to the development of improved behavior-based measures of self comforting and to the delineation of individual differences in the developmental path between self comforting and self awareness.

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Figure Caption

Figure 1. Relations Among Variables

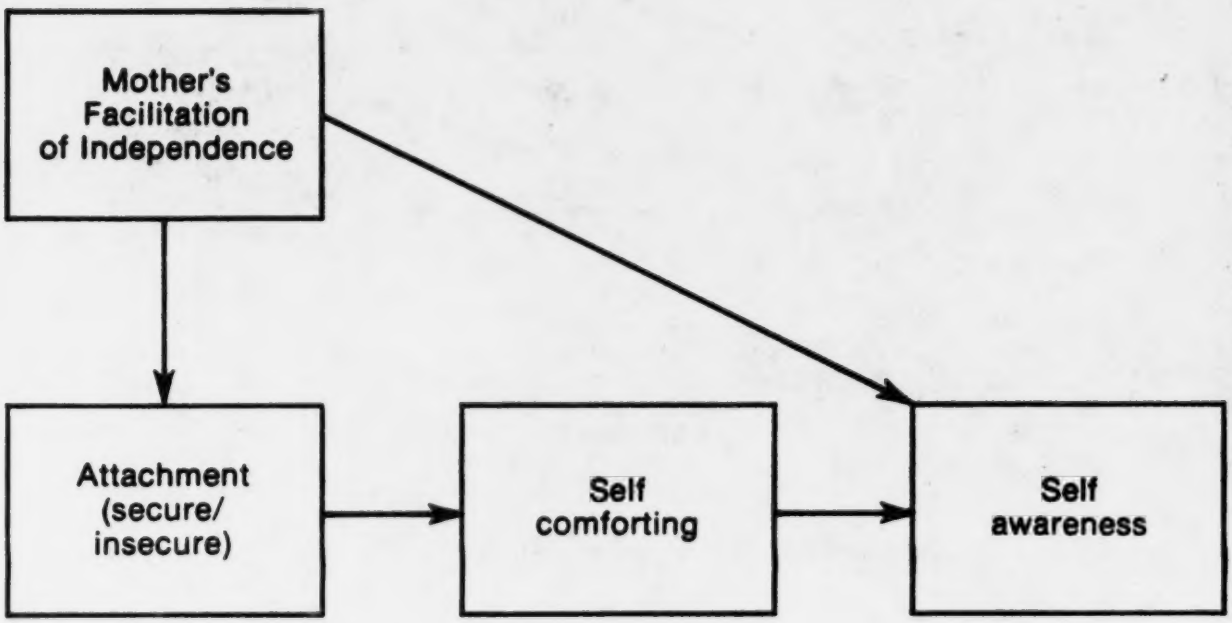
Mother's Facilitation of Independence
Attachment (secure/ insecure)
Self comforting
Self awareness

Table 1

Summary of Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Source	Boys	Girls	Sex Diff
Attachment	Lab	No. Secure = 4	4	n.s.
		No. Nonsecure = 1	3	
Mother's Facilitation Independence	Interview	Mean = 3.38 S.D. = .74	Mean = 3.13 S.D. = .83	n.s.
Self Comforting	Interview	No. use object = 5	6	n.s.
		No. use only body = 3	1	
		No., no s.e. = 0	1	
Mastery Behavior	Home Obs.	Mean = 35.30 S.D. = (12.65)	42.88 (11.23)	n.s.
Distress to Modeling	Home Obs.	Mean = 28.40 S.D. = (14.15)	19.25 (9.59)	n.s.
Directives to Adults	Home Obs.	Mean = 21.40 S.D. = (11.91)	22.37 (7.27)	n.s.